

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 AF-06 ISO-00 SAM-01 IO-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AGR-05 COME-00 AID-05 EB-07

CIEP-01 TRSE-00 STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01 FRB-03 EA-06

SAJ-01 ACDA-05 /114 W

----- 030796

R 021743Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY LONDON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2558

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, PINT, EAID, PO, UK, MZ, AO, RH, XJ

SUBJECT: ANTUNES VISIT: PORTUGUESE VIEWS ON DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

REF: LONDON 10173

1. SUMMARY: VISIT OF PORTUGUESE FONMIN ANTUNES PROVIDED OPPORTUNITY OF EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON DEVELOPMENTS IN

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SOUTHERN AFRICA (MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA, RHODESIA AND SOUTH-

ERN AFRICA) WITH FONSEC. UK APPRECIATED OPPORTUNITY FOR LENGTHY DISCUSSION OF THESE PROBLEMS AND AT THE SAME TIME HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPOUND ON UK POLICIES. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING HIS RECENT SHORT VISIT TO LONDON, PORTUGUESE FONMIN ANTUNES HAD LENGTHY DISCUSSIONS WITH FONSEC CALLAGHAN ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS. FCO PROVIDED EM-BASSY OFFICER JULY 1 WITH RUNDOWN ON THE EXCHANGE WHICH IS HEREIN REPORTED IN SOME DETAIL.

3. MOZAMBIQUE. ANTUNES REPRESENTED PORTUGAL AT CELEBRATIONS OF MOZAMBIQUE'S INDEPENDENCE, BUT THEREAFTER, TRAVELED DIRECTLY TO LONDON. ASKED FOR HIS IMPRESSIONS, ANTUNES SAID THAT FRELIMO HAD ABSOLUTE COMPLETE POLITICAL CONTROL OF THE COUNTRY, BUT THAT AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES IN GENERAL WERE CALM IN ACCEPTANCE OF INDEPENDENCE. ANTUNES BECAME CONVINCED THAT POLITICAL LEADERS OF FRELIMO IS A WELL-RUN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION WITH WHICH IT IS POSSIBLE TO HAVE DIALOGUE AND SENSIBLE RELATIONS.

4. ON ECONOMIC SITUATION IN MOZAMBIQUE, ANTUNES SAID MOZAMBIQUE HAD VIRTUALLY NO FOREIGN CURRENCY TO USE IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. WHILE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS FACING THE NEW NATION WERE IMMENSE, FRELIMO HAD INDICATED ITS INTENTION TO ACCELERATE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR OF ECONOMY, TREATING INDUSTRY AS SECONDARY IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS. FRELIMO HOPED AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND EXPORT OF AGRICULTURAL SURPLUS AND RAW MATERIALS WOULD BRING IN FOREIGN CURRENCY NEEDED FOR DEVELOPMENT. IT WAS NONTHELESS VERY CLEAR TO THE PORTUGUESE THAT MOZAMBIQUE NEEDED AID AND SUPPORT FROM OUTSIDE FOR SOME TIME TO COME.

5. ON DIRECTIONS OF MOZAMBIQUE'S FOREIGN POLICY, ANTUNES NOTED FRELIMO WAS "KEEN" ON INDEPENDENCE AND ON COUNTRIES THAT HAD SUPPORTED INDEPENDENCE. ANTUNES DISCERNED CERTAIN LEANINGS TOWARD CHINA, AS SEEN IN MODELS OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR FRELIMO ADOPTED, BUT FRELIMO LEADERS, HE SAID, WERE PREOCCUPIED WITH NEED NOT TO BECOME TOO DEPENDENT ON CHINA. SOME FRELIMO LEADERS, HE SAID, TENDED

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TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION. IN ANY EVENT, MACHEL AND HIS COLLEAGUES SHOWED A PREFERENCE TOWARD SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AS "THEIR NATURAL ALLIES." IN SPITE OF THIS TILT, FRELIMO WAS NOT INTERESTED IN LIMITING CONTACTS WITH ANY "PROGRESSIVE" COUNTRIES OF THE WEST.

6. ANTUNES IS CONVINCED THAT FRELIMO WILL CONTINUE TO GIVE ALL POSSIBLE SUPPORT TO OPPONENTS OF THE SMITH

REGIME IN RHODESIA. MOZAMBIQUE MIGHT, THEREFORE, BECOME A FUTURE BASE FOR GUERRILLA CAMPAIGNS IN RHODESIA AS ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA HAD SUPPORTED FRELIMO IN ITS FIGHT.

7. FONSEC CALLAGHAN SAID UK CONCERNED ABOUT MOZAMBIQUE BECAUSE OF ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH RHODESIA. UK HAD OFFERED MOZAMBIQUE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE IN ORDER TO SUPPORT TIGHTENING OF SANCTIONS. BEIRA PATROL HAS ALSO BEEN CURTAILED. UK WOULD PREFER SUPPLEMENTARY AID TO MOZAMBIQUE TO BE MULTI-LATERAL (I.E. UN), BUT WOULD ACCEPT BI-LATERAL ARRANGEMENT.

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CIEP-01 TRSE-00 STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01 FRB-03 EA-06

SAJ-01 ACDA-05 /114 W
----- 030810

R 021743Z JUL 75
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
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INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON
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8. ANTUNES WAS IMPRESSED WITH ABSENCE OF STRONG FEELINGS IN MOZAMBIQUE VIEWS OF SOUTH AFRICA, AND HE FELT FRELIMO ATTITUDE TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA WAS NOT AS RIGID AS EXPECTED. ACCORDING TO ANTUNES, FRELIMO EXPECTED THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE DISPOSED IN THE FUTURE TO GIVE SMITH LESS SUPPORT THAN IT HAD IN THE PAST. SOUTH AFRICA MIGHT ALSO BE PREPARED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS ON APARTHEID IN ORDER TO KEEP GOOD RELATIONS WITH MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA.

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9. ANGOLA. PORTUGUESE CONSIDER ANGOLA INDEPENDENCE TO BE HOTTEST PROBLEM IN AFRICA. PORTUGUESE, ACCORDING TO ANTUNES, DO NOT EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF ARMED CONFLICT OR CIVIL WAR. IN PORTUGUESE VIEW, NAKURU AGREEMENT HAD NOT REALLY SOLVED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LIBERATION GROUPS. PORTUGUESE EXPECT TO HOLD A MEETING WITH ALL GROUPS IN NEAR FUTURE IN EFFORT TO IMPLEMENT ENFORCEMENT OF PRINCIPLES IN THE AGREEMENT, SPECIFICALLY ON A NATIONAL ARMY AND ELECTIONS.

10. PORTUGUESE HOPE TO ESTABLISH A POLITICAL PLATFORM THROUGH CONSULTING GROUPS THAT WOULD PERMIT SOLUTION OF OUTSTANDING PROBLEMS EVEN IN THE ABSENCE OF ELECTIONS, BUT PORTUGUESE BELIEVE TWO MAIN MOVEMENTS (MPLA AND FNLA) ARE WORKING TO GAIN ADVANTAGES IN THE FIELD IN ORDER TO IMPOSE BY ARMS THEIR OWN POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL VIEWS. THIS MADE PORTUGAL'S POSITION EXTREMELY DIFFICULT, SINCE PORTUGAL HAD PROCLAIMED POLICY OF "ACTIVE NEUTRALITY" AND WAS ATTEMPTING TO ACT AS ARBITER BETWEEN THE VARIOUS MOVEMENTS. WITH THE INCREASE IN THE LEVEL OF CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TWO MAIN MOVEMENTS, THE SITUATION WAS DETERIORATING STEADILY AND THERE IS A REAL DANGER OF A CIVIL WAR. UNTIL INDEPENDENCE, PORTUGUESE ARMY UNITS WILL BE ACTIVE IN INTERVENING WHEREVER POSSIBLE TO RESTORE ORDER IN EACH INSTANCE OF VIOLENCE.

11. DESCRIBING THE VARIOUS STRANDS OF POLITICAL MOVEMENTS IN ANGOLA, ANTUNES SAID MPLA WAS IDEOLOGICALLY OF THE LEFT AND FNLA OF THE RIGHT. FNLA HAS HAD THE SUPPORT OF ZAIRE AND INTERNALLY WAS SEEKING THE SUPPORT OF THE MAIN ECONOMIC GROUPS. THE THIRD MAIN GROUP, UNITA, ANTUNES SAID, WAS GETTING STRONGER AND NOW WAS SUPPORTED BY KAUNDA AND NYERERE. WHILE UNITA APPEARS CLOSER TO MPLA THAN TO FNLA, THERE WERE LONG-STANDING DIFFERENCES BE-

TWEEN UNITA AND MPLA, ESPECIALLY OVER HOW TO CONDUCT THE WAR AGAINST THE PORTUGUESE. THE PORTUGUESE NOW BELIEVE MOBUTU IS TAKING A MORE REALISTIC POSITION ON ANGOLAN QUESTIONS AND THERE MAY BE SOME WEAKENING OF ZAIRE'S SUPPORT FOR THE FNLA.

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12. RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA. CALLAGHAN SAID THAT THE UK EXPECTED TO BE PLAYING A MORE ACTIVE ROLE IN RHODESIA. HE NOTED THAT THE UK HAD BEEN ASKED BY SOUTH AFRICANS AND AFRICAN LEADERS IN PRIVATE NOT TO PLAY TOO ACTIVE A ROLE, WHILE THE AFRICANS CALLED IN PUBLIC FOR UK INTERVENTION IN RHODESIA. AFTER MEETING WITH AFRICAN LEADERS IN JAMAICA, CALLAGHAN SAID HE HAD CONCLUDED IT WAS TIME FOR THE UK TO RESUME ACTIVITY, AND HAD, THEREFORE, SENT AN EMISSARY TO DISCUSS PROPOSALS WITH SMITH. THE EMISSARY WOULD ALSO VISIT SOUTH AFRICA.

13. THE UK WOULD LIKE THE AFRICANS IN RHODESIA TO SETTLE THEIR OWN LEADERSHIP PROBLEM AND BEGIN TO TALK DIRECTLY WITH SMITH. CALLAGHAN SAID HE AGREED WITH ANTUNES THAT TENSION AND VIOLENCE WERE LIKELY TO INCREASE. HOWEVER, UK EXPECTS TO CALL A CONFERENCE OF ALL PARTIES BY LATE AUTUMN; AND IF SMITH FAILS TO APPEAR, THE CONFERENCE WOULD PROCEED WITH ONLY AFRICANS PRESENT.

14. CALLAGHAN SUGGESTED THAT RHODESIAN AFRICANS COULD LEARN SOME LESSONS FROM THE PROBLEMS IN ANGOLA. WHILE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES APPEARED TO SEPARATE THE POLITICAL GROUPS IN ANGOLA, CALLAGHAN SAID THAT IN RHODESIA THE STRUGGLE WAS RATHER FOR PERSONAL POWER. THE TWO MOVEMENTS ZANU AND ZAPU WERE BASICALLY TRIBAL GROUPS WITH ONE FAVORING PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS AND THE OTHER ARMED STRUGGLE. CALLAGHAN DOUBTED, HOWEVER, THAT THEIR DIFFERENCES WERE AS DIVISIVE AS THE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES IN ANGOLA.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, MINISTERIAL VISITS, TRADE CONCESSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 JUL 1975
Decapton Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decapton Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: MartinML
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975LONDON10212
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750229-0790
From: LONDON
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750792/aaaadehu.tel
Line Count: 266
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 LONDON 10173
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: MartinML
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <11 JUN 2003 by ifshinsr>; APPROVED <05 NOV 2003 by MartinML>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ANTUNES VISIT: PORTUGUESE VIEWS ON DEVELOP- MENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA
TAGS: PFOR, PGOV, PINT, EAID, PO, UK, MZ, AO, RH, XJ, (ANTUNES, MELO)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006